1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
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600 dried mushrooms
Todo Skin [Eumetopias Jubata, Stellar sea lion]—one piece.
3 seal skins
Elm bark cloth, 3 pieces
6 bamboo blinds
3 rush mats

For one bbl. of fish oil, containing 2 shō—3 sacks of rice each containing 8 shō.
For one bear liver—14–20 sacks of rice.
For one outfit of brocade clothes from the Ezo of Santan—9–24 sacks of rice.
For each 5 feet of Ezo brocade cloth—6 sacks of rice.
For eagle feathers—3–30 sacks of rice.
For one Karafuto pipe—⅝ cups of sake to one small bbl. containing 4 shō.

Rates of exchange for goods from the mainland were as follows:

For one sack of rice containing 8 shō:

1 small bbl. sake—4 shō
3 bundles of tobacco
1 large knife
6 small knives
6 bowls
3 pipes
1 sack of yeast containing 7 shō
1 set of Kamokamo (nest of bowls, 1 large, 1 small)
6 flints
72 needles
72 spools of cotton thread
3 *namako Hikikane* [tools for catching sea slugs]
1 set of old clothes for 5–10 sacks of rice each containing 8 shō.
1 tan of cotton cloth for 3 sacks of rice.
Hokai [lacquer ware container used by high officials] for 2–5 sacks of rice.

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The standard of value was rice and the value of everything was set in terms of rice prior to barter. In 1688 when the vessel Kaifu Maru came from Mito to Ishikari the prevailing exchange was recorded as 1 to 2 shō of rice for each 700 fresh salmon. According to statements left by Matsumae Sazen, principal retainer of the clan and others, by 1790, the sack of rice was reduced to 8 shō while the quality also became less and at the same time the quantity of salmon to be exchanged per sack of rice remained at 5 bundles or 100 salmon;[33] 8 shō became the standard contents of the sack of trade rice. It is reported that one of the reasons for the trouble in Menashi and Kunashiri was the reduction of the rice sack to a mere 3 shō occasioned by the famine of the 1780's.[34] However, in general, the standard measure was the "kobyō" [small sack] containing 8

[33] *Hokkaidō Shi*, 1263.
[34] *Ezo Dan* [Ezo Tales] (The story of the farmer Sanemon of Esashi village in Matsumae).

A F 437 439 *457 *648 *175

Trade accounts were either settled on the spot or by keeping a record of receipts and disbursals which was settled at the end of the fishing season. The same source notes: "According to the amount of dried sea slugs, goods would be loaned to the Ezo in the summer and in the winter the accounts would be settled. Besides this system there was another called 'cash trade' in which goods were given to the Ezo in exchange for their products when they brought them." In later years this loan system seems to have been the most widespread. There is no doubt that this system provided many ways in which the merchants could deceive the illiterate Ezo. In *Igen Zokuwa* we find that, "among the goods given to the Ezo," during *Omusha*, "one barrel of sake was to be taken into account in the settlement." By this it seems that the already drunken Ezo were given additional sake at the trading party and that this quantity was added to the acounts. In *Ezo Miyage* it says,

A [431] [203] [206]

There is an event called *Omusha* in Ezo. Each year between summer and autumn when the Matsumae officials went to their *Basho* they took with them, as presents, several dozen sacks (eight shō to a sack) of rice yeast, one or two bundles of tobacco and one barrel (containing four shō) of sake and gave these to the Ezo of a celebrated family. Among these presents the tobacco was actually a gift but it was customary to take some Ezo products in return for the other gifts. It is strange that they should ask for something in return for that given as a gift.

A F [661]

In effect this was a loan-in-advance system and it gradually evolved into forcing the Ezo to work for trade goods. This cheating grew into plunder. In *Tsugaru Kibun* the trade situation is described as follows:

A F *C48 [577] *175 437 439

After a deal had been made and the amount agreed upon, as to dried salmon, sea cucumber, and strings of shells from the Ezo and sake, tobacco, and needles from the merchants, a narrow board would be placed on a dangerous spot on the vessel and on this board the Ezo would lay out their goods for counting. The native, although he knows it is dangerous, is stupid enough to place his goods on this board. While he is laboriously counting someone would sneak up behind him and surprise him by grabbing his shoulders. The native would jump up with fright and turn red with anger at this joke but, when offered tobacco or sake, he would forget the whole matter and resume his counting. However, he would have forgotten his previous count and start anew from where he had left off, the result being that those goods left out of the count were free to the merchants.

A [802]

A method of counting which lingered into recent times was used by the Ainu and was evidently practiced by them from early times. It consisted of adding "beginning" and "end" to every count of ten and, in effect taking twelve for ten. In *Tōyuki* we note: "The crews of vessels trading with the Ezo were mostly men of poor education and morals who took it for granted that all Ezo were ignorant and cheating and stealing were very common."

A F *648 *175 466

This situation did not change when the contractors started to use the Ezo as laborers which came after the stage of mutual trade. As the use of natives as

So the circulation of coins had its advantages and production increased and the Ezo were happy, although some criticized it and some misunderstood it because the issuing of coins was a complicated matter.[16]

The Commissioners had been most anxious over the term of circulation but the Bakufu did, at the end of its period of control, take up all coins.[17] The use of coins was pretty much limited to East Ezo and was not practiced in West Ezo for, in later years, in contrast to the price list of trade goods in East Ezo which was expressed in terms of money, that of West Ezo was expressed in terms of rice.[18] Coins were used to a great extent, however, in East Ezo and we have a great deal of evidence from travel diaries of the period on that point.[19]

C. STABILIZATION OF EXCHANGE RATES

As has been mentioned the rate of exchange in Ezo rose and fell with market changes in Japan. These changes increased the suspicions of the natives who understood nothing of such matters and it also gave the contractors an excuse for crooked manipulations.

In order to remove these defects the Bakufu established a fixed price for both coins and rice, applicable only in Ezo, not to be changed, and it further ordered that the exchange rate be fixed as of the time and place

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Bakufu Office of Accounts regarding the government of Ezo and the reply of the Hakodate Magistrate) from Okamotu Ryûnosuke, *Hokkaidô Shikô* (Documentary history of Hokkaido) 1: 130.

[16] "When iron coins came into use they were placed on the market at the rate of one kan 200 mon per gold bu but the market price went to one kan 400 mon per gold bu. Since these coins had originally cost a little more than 1 kan 600 mon, it made for the highest exchange rate in Japan with one ryô equal to three gold bu. Carpenters and woodcutters hired from the Nambu and Tsugaru clans exchanged their money at the rate of three bu for a gold ryô. A person hired at a daily wage of four momme of silver was getting a real wage of three momme. The daily cost of tobacco and sake amounted to a considerable sum and it led to complaints by the hired laborers that they could not make a living. The Ezo hearing all this began to think that the government trade was being carried out at a great profit. This has its effect on the government's prestige and is most regrettable." Mogami Tokunai, *Ezo Sôshi* in *Ezo Fûzoku Isan* 2 (8).

[17] "Ever since the land was returned to the landlords in the Bunsei [1818–1829] era the use of gold and silver was forbidden and travelling expenses were paid in the form of rice, sake and other goods. . . ." Hori Oribenoshô Tadashi, Ezochi zenni tsuyô tetsusén ittate kata ukagai [An inquiry into the use of coins and the minting of iron coins]. *Dai Nihon Komonjo Bakumatsu Gaikoku Kankei Bunsho* 13: 177.

[18] Koekishin nedan no koto (Prices of trade goods) in *Ezo Fûzoku Isan* 2 (3).

[19] "For a few coins girls with Karafuto beads are very happy to part with them. From Yubutsu onward coins are in use and the people there, regarding coins as the most valuable of treasures, would gladly kneel in gratitude for one or two mon." *Nishi Ezo Takashima Nikki* (West Ezo Takashima Diary). "Yubutsu . . . people in this area were the first to grasp the use of coins. They were also skilled in carving and their livelihood depended on the making of toys and other articles." *Shôhoku Roku* (Records of the Far North).

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of the order establishing it with no alterations allowed. In the *Ezochi Torishirabe Narabini Kaikoku no gi Aifukume Torihakarai kata Moshiage Sōrō Kakitsuke* (Suggestions on the Development and Regulation of Ezo) submitted by the Commissioners to the Council we find: "A rate of exchange is needed . . . this rate to be fixed by law." *The Abuta Basho Daigaisho* (General Survey of the Abuta *Basho*), written in 1809, says:

A [651]

> All goods, either Ezo or mainland, shall be bought in money. The mainlanders will have 20 per cent of all sea products deducted as tax. On the remainder 20 per cent will be deducted for marine charges and, in addition, there will be freight costs. If any fishing equipment or other necessities have been purchased these must be paid for before any money is turned over. But if the fishing has been poor and debts for purchases cannot be met they may be paid the following year. As for the Ezo, their products shall be bought according to a fixed price for each good.

And from the *Hokusui Taimon*:

> Prices seem to vary in the different *Basho*, and they are fixed in each *Basho* according to the same rate that had been used there last year. This price cannot be changed by individuals and the rate for government trade applies as well to the private trade. The price differs slightly according to the *Basho* but it was set by the government and cannot be tampered with.

In looking over the rates we find that fixed prices were not necessarily to the advantage of the Ezo. In fact one could well complain that Ezo goods were undervalued and Japanese goods overvalued.[29] This was because the official rates were set at the rates prevailing when the government took over—which happened to be rates profitable to the contractors—and the government rates were, from time to time, modified so as to

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[29] In 1800 Mogami Tokunai reported in his Ezochi no gi ni tsuki zōnji yori sōraiaha enryōnaka moshiagu beki yo ōsē kikasare sōrō (Opinions on Ezo transmitted to the Bakufu in accord with instructions that such be done without delay) that "Trade in Ezo has, since the past, been conducted on a fixed exchange rate. For example one sack of rice containing 8 shō is exchanged for approximately 120 salmon. At nearby *Basho* the rate may drop to 100 and if the fishermen are secretive [about the catch] the rate may drop to 60, 50, or even 40 salmon. And yet even at this low rate the contractors have their profit. The Ezo are well aware of this fact and are therefore discontented for they believe that the contractors, who must pay taxes, buy Ezo goods at the very lowest prices. Furthermore, the contractors must assume the risk of stranded vessels and they take into account such contemplated losses when establishing prices for Ezo goods. The Ezo then contend that the contractors make their living wholly at the expense of the Ezo and they are not at all satisfied with this situation. Even in a future trade conducted by the Bakufu this belief will persist and eventually the Ezo will maintain that Bakufu officials make their living by purchasing Ezo goods at low prices—all to no good effect on their loyalty." Mogami then states that trade should be left to each individual to conduct as he chooses. His reasoning is too far fetched and his claims for free trade are not acceptable but his report does reveal the unreasonable exchange rate being imposed at that time on the Ezo.

enable the mainlanders to make a profit,[21] under the apprehension that the profit from the native trade constituted the financial resources of that island and that there was no reason why the Ezo should be helped at the expense of profit. This was done in spite of the expressed intention of the Bakufu, "to help the Ezo and not for the purpose of obtaining profit." The established exchange rate is discussed in Part One, Chap. III, Sect. 3, but aside from whether or not it was maintained to the letter it ought to be noted that it was retained in the spirit for many years. It is true that the rate was not observed in practice but on the other hand it is true that the idea of a standard rate survived for trade purposes.

2. ENCOURAGEMENT OF INDUSTRY

Bakufu policy was against the encouragement of idleness among the natives by undue generosity. The Ezo were encouraged to work and to earn their living. The trade was supervised so that the Ezo were not cheated and, at some places, fishing nets were loaned, fishing techniques introduced, fair compensation, in rice, for labor was enforced, and extra goods or sake provided for the extra deserving. When an Ezo became extra skilled at his work he received added pay or reward and it was made known that pay varied according to one's diligence. The result was that more Ezo began to fish or to engage in minor labor. In Kunashiri Island, under the Matsumae, the Ezo who fished or worked at the posts received very little in return, so they used to cross to Etorofu Island to work.

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[21] "Among the goods exchanged between the Ezo and the officials sake is sold at a price below cost; however, *since it is said that all other goods are priced at original cost plus freight plus a substantial margin of profit*, it seems that this trade bears a quite large profit." Kansei jūichinen shōnin metsuke Aoyagi Sadaichi moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Report by Aoyagi Sadaichi, chief censor, in 1799). Following is a comparison of prices at Niikappu Basho before government intervention [A] as seen in *Higashi Ezo Dōchiū Ki* (Travel Record of East Ezo 1791) with prices under government control, [B] as seen in *Bakufu chōkatsumae no Niikappu basho ni okeru kōchi kakaku no Bunsei gonen Niikappu hikitsu gi bunshō* (Documents pertaining to various matters in transferring of Niikappu *Basho* to direct control by the Bakufu in 1822).

Dried Salmon

A. 3 bundles for one Ezo sack of rice.
B. 4 bundles for one Ezo sack of rice.
(One Ezo sack of rice equal 448 mon. One bundle of dried salmon equal 120 mon)

Dried Mushrooms

50 for one cup of sake.

50 for one cup refined sake.
15 for one cup unrefined sake.
(One cup refined sake equal 50 mon)
(One cup unrefined sake equal 15 mon)
(One mushroom equal 1 mon)

Boiled Sea Cucumber

A. 40 for one shō of rice.
B. 56 for one shō of rice.
(One shō of rice equal 56 mon; One boiled sea cucumber equal 1 mon)